1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

5

HUNTING

THE chief Papago meat supply was rabbit meat; both the cottontail (*Lepus arizonas*) and the jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus* and *Lepus alleni*) were used. They were hunted all the year round and no man or boy ever left the village without his bow and the light wood-tipped arrows which were used for such small game. Boys, and men when they had time, also poked the roundtailed ground squirrels (*Citellus tereticandus*) and the desert rats (*Dipodops sp.*) out of their holes or dug channels to flood them out after the summer rains. They shot such fat birds as the quail (*Lophortys gambelii*) and the mourning dove (*Zenaidura macroura*). This routine work was done without ceremony, except for the communal rabbit hunt, later to be described.

DEERHEAD DISGUISE

Deer hunting was another matter. The Papago hunted the blacktailed or desert mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus eremicus*), the white tailed deer (*Odocoileus couesi*), and "a big tame stupid deer," which was less common and may have been *Odocoileus hemionus canus*, that came down from the snow covered mountains in the cold winters. Of these it was the first, the desert, or mule, deer which was the focus of myth and ritual—its tail equivalent to eagle down, its flesh ordained by I'itoi for the people's food.

I'itoi made the deer during the people's march of conquest. He took a squirrel and split it up the back, to make it larger, but the squirrel cried, and so he let it go. The splitting left a white mark down its back, visible to this day. Then I'itoi took a mouse. This tiny animal did not cry. I'itoi made the deer, giving it no gall bladder so that it

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

could not get angry. He gave it the wind for its friend to tell of human approach, but he also caused it to know when its time was come, so that it would submit itself willingly to the hunter.

The deer never appeared as guardian spirit, perhaps because it was a late creation, not one of the "first people," and perhaps, too, because of its timidity. Nevertheless, the deer could send sickness (a cough, which the Papago have now agreed to call tuberculosis). This was the penalty for unnecessary cruelty in the hunt and for disrespectful treatment of the remains. No part of the deer should ever be brought into contact with a menstruating woman. The bones should be carefully put away where no dog could drag them about, and the horns placed on the house roof or in some special repository.[1]

Some men hunted the deer by tracking him down on foot, and for this no magic was needed. An old man famous for this athletic feat told the writer that he had never had a dream in his life.(22) But the traditional method of individual hunting was to use the deerhead disguise, a procedure which was accompanied by songs and dreams. Ceremonialists differed about this form of magic, and most of them did not ascribe it to *I'itoi*. Instead, the author was an evil shaman who corralled the deer and then, on being paid by two young hunters, taught the deerhead disguise and the songs.

Men who used the deerhead disguise were known as *mó'opetam* (headbearers). They were a professional group, who hunted all the year round, except in January ("Moon of Thin Animals"), February ("Moon When the Deer Smell Bad"). Their male relatives tilled their fields for them, and the hunters, in return, made them gifts of venison. The more successful ones even had meat to trade. However, deer were not plentiful, and "if a man got twelve in a year, that was good."

There were many families which had no hunters among them, but in a large group of boys, a father might designate one for this arduous profession. "Are sure you want this?" the youth would be warned by the older relative, to whom he went for training. "You

[1] Kino (Bolton, 1936, p. 372) mentions such a repository among the Gila Pima. Horns can be seen on many old Papago houses, and those from a ritually killed deer are regularly placed on the round house.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

know that you must often go without food and drink and spend months in the far mountains." If the candidate proved hardy and swift, his family paid a teacher, and the young hunter began by carrying the quiver and helping to "jerk" and pack the meat. He was not given a disguise until he had managed, by luck or fast running, to kill his first deer. This he gave to the teacher, being forbidden to eat any of it himself on pain of never catching another. From the head the teacher fabricated a disguise for him.[2]

We might logically expect that after his first deer the youth would go through a purification and then receive his deer-hunting songs. But hunting was not in the same category with power experiences. There seems to have been no ordeal connected with this first kill, and the hunter learned his songs from his teacher during his apprenticeship or from the other men at camp.

Having received his disguise, he was a full-fledged headbearer. He hunted, as his teacher had hunted, with a companion or an apprentice, for two men generally circled the deer, the helper hiding, ready to head off the animal's flight, while the principal, having assumed the deerhead, approached cautiously upwind. Having shot his deer, he summoned his companion, and both of them carried the meat home. Deer songs are full of allusions to these two partners.

Sometimes a larger group went out and camped together, separating only after they reached the hunting grounds. One of the older headbearers would initiate the expedition, for the hunt chief, essentially a ritualist, took no part in it unless he, too, happened to be a headbearer. The volunteer leader announced his intention one night at council meeting, and pairs of partners who were interested agreed to join him. They set a rendezvous in the mountains, some days in advance, and each man prepared his deer arrows, which were of yucca, with greasewood foreshaft and a stone tip, like the war arrows. They took a shaman with them, as the war party did and for a like reason. He was to "see" the deer, while the group made magic by singing.

The headbearers, renowned for their endurance, carried neither

[2] For description of this disguise and the method of making it, see Castetter and Underhill, pp. 40–41.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

224 food nor water. They were sure of getting meat of some kind. They [272] would drink the blood, and, in any case, they prided themselves on being *skutsk* (able to endure thirst). Those who would don the disguise wore sleeveless shirts of deerskin whitened in front to imitate the deer's belly, black behind, like his back. They carried white clay with which at the last minute they would dapple their brown legs and arms. At the same time, they would assume the disguise and then emerge from behind some shelter to walk toward the deer on all fours.

As men gathered at the rendezvous, they moved quietly and spoke in low tones so as not to offend the deer. Some even maintained complete silence. If anyone felt that he or his weapons had been exposed to contact with a menstruating woman, the shaman performed some part of the ceremony for driving away evil, to be described later. This applied only to fathers or brothers who had run the risk unconsciously. The husband of a menstruant or a pregnant woman was required to stay at home, on pain of being wounded in the hunt or causing illness to his child.

224 Those who had hunting fetishes, exposed them. Such a fetish 289 was usually a "blue stone" or a "white stone" whose whereabouts had been suggested by an animal visitant in a vision. Those who had had no vision sometimes owned a less reputable form of magic, though they would not confess it. This came from the lichen called "earth flowers," which grew on rocks in inaccessible places. Men climbed to get it, and, after asking its permission, rubbed off a little [232] with a rock and wore it in the folds of the breech clout. It attracted both deer and women, and its odor on a man's sweaty hands in the drinking dance would bring any woman to him, they said. But it was dangerous, and a man who used it too long would ultimately sicken and die. No man ever admitted possessing it, and the few whom the writer knew to be suspected of owning it were regarded with fear.[2]

Such private magic was always subsidiary to the singing of songs to summon the deer. For this the men arranged themselves in a

[2] The writer finally obtained a small amount of earth flowers in a buckskin bag, but it was too dry and powdered for identification. It may be the same growth which she scraped off a rock in Mohave country and which has not yet been analyzed. The Mohave shaman who lent his pocket knife for the process (while turning his back) professed to be ill for some days afterward.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

circle, as they did on the warpath, and each in turn sang the songs he knew. Supposedly, these were the ancient cycle from the origin myth, but to them had been added others dreamed by those who had "met" the mountain lion or other patron of the hunt. Each man knew a few songs, which he taught to his companions; meanwhile the shaman went into the darkness and looked about "to see what wanted to be killed."

Then the men lay back to sleep, and if one of them were fortunate, the deer would appear to him in the guise of a beautiful woman, and would make a tryst for the following day. Hunters said they knew nothing about the use of jimson weed (*Datura metelloides*) as a help toward such visions, although the song 18 suggests it. The plant grows wild in Papago country and was in regular ceremonial use by the southern California Shoshoneans. Still, say the Papago, "it's a cheap way to get visions. The animals won't really come unless you starve." Inquiry produced no instances of the use of datura at the present day.[4]

Below are quoted three cycles of deer songs from three separate informants and a few odd songs, both old and new. There must be hundreds of such songs in the Papago area. They describe a successful hunt, with all its incidents, humorous, realistic, or fanciful, in order that the same things may occur again. Some songs, with imaginative sympathy, are placed in the deer's own mouth. They have no standard refrain. Informants said that they should always be in pairs, and where there is only one it is probable that one of the pair has been lost. This pairing, says Herzog,[5] is a musical characteristic of the western Pueblos, but he considers the Pima hunting songs, which resemble those of the Papago, to be in a more primitive musical style than the Pueblo-like songs for growth.[6]

SERIES BY INFORMANT 19

2. At the west there is a rumbling;
   The deer tail
   Rumbling.

[4] In the songs datura is paired with another magic-working plant, *tcinacat*, so far unidentified. For lack of an English name, this plant has been called lizard weed, since it is said to "meet" dreamers in the form of a lizard. See Underhill, 1937, p. 184.

[5] Herzog, pp. 299, 307.

[6] For Pima deer songs see Russell, pp. 300, 317. The former very similar to No. 16, p. 92, below.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

90
224
537

HUNTING

At the east there is a mirage;
The deer horns.
A mirage.

3. Four times I have sung.
Over there I found the deer.
Four times I have shouted [to my partner];
Over there I killed the deer.

4. Yonder I went;
The flat land lay dark and far.
I went feeling my way.

Yonder I went;
The mountains lay dark and far.
I went feeling my way.
(Composed by the singer's comrades when he came home belated.)

5. The white tail, climbing,
Seems like a streak on the rocks.
The black tail, striding,
Seems like a crack in the rocks.

6. He [the deer] is spotted.
On the flat land he goes running.
He is spotted.
On the mountains he goes running.
These, my hands, I cover with white clay
And on the ground
I go on all fours [in deer disguise].

7. The mountain gap!
Thither the deer run climbing.
Beyond it the reeds.
They scatter and break.

The mountain gap!
Thither the deer run circling.
Beneath it the reeds!
They scatter and break.

8. There, where the ocotillo grew thick,
I killed the deer.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

224
539

There, where the grass grew thick,
I wounded the deer.

9. The strong wind blows toward me;
In a circle the clouds rush toward me.
This, my flesh,
Is turning green.[1]

10. There I was walking along;
My bow string I was twisting.
The white crystal shaman
Walked with me.

There I was walking along;
My arrow feather I was tightening.
The blue stone warrior
Walked with me.

11. This ground is magic,
It raised me high.
To the foot of the east it carried me.

These mountains are magic,
They raised me high.
To the top of the west they carried me.

12. The wind is rushing toward us
Far off.
Turning somersaults as it comes.
At the edge of the world it stands still.

The clouds are coming toward us
Nearby.
Spreading out as they come,
On the top of the mountain they sit still.

13. From the rainhouse in the east
The wind emerges.
(Leaving behind it)
A string of feathers.

From the rainhouse in the west
A cloud emerges.

[1] The legend is that deer flesh turns green after rain. Sung by the deer.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

(Leaving behind it)
A string of bird down.

14. Over there, far off he runs,
With his white forefeet,
Through the brush.

Over there, nearby he runs,
With his nostrils open,
Over the bare ground.

The deer speaks, saying that if the hunter's weapons have been near a menstruating woman, the deer will remain invisible.

15. Invisible I go;
Invisible I run.
In the menstruation blood
I bury myself.
In the great flow of blood
Invisible I run.

16. Here a little moisture
Is dripping.
Beside it [grows] the white datura.
Here a little moisture
Is dripping.

Within the green rock
There is a dripping.
Beside it grows the lizard weed.
Within the green rock
There is a dripping.

SERIES BY INFORMANT 22

The lizard weed speaks.

17. The datura is like me,
It has white blossoms.

The datura speaks.

The lizard weed is like me,
It has yellow blossoms.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

224 ●
589x

18. Little datura children
All together assembled;
Loud singing sounds forth.

Little lizard-weed girls
All together assembled;
A sort of laughing sounds forth.

A hunter speaks, after eating datura.

19. I, very eager,
Grabbed the deer's foreleg,
Grabbed the deer's foreleg,
Thinking it my bow.

I, very brave,
Grabbed the deer's tail,
Grabbed the deer's tail,
Thinking it my arrow.

The deer speaks.

20. Lo, surely I shall die.
Over there, toward the west,
Here and there I went running.
Over there in the west
It thundered; it shook me.

Lo, surely I shall die.
Over there, toward the east,
Here and there I went running.
Over there, in the east,
It echoed, it threw me down.

21. The black crows go flying,
Having seen the snapping bow;
Toward it in a narrow line
They go flying.

The yellow comrade [coyote],
Having seen the humming arrow,
Toward it crouching
Goes running.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

224
639

The deer speaks.

22. Here I come forth.
On the earth I fell over;
The snapping bow made me dizzy.

Here I come forth!
On the mountain I slipped;
The humming arrow made me dizzy.

23. The fence of bows!
Within it I run about
In every direction, looking.

The fence of arrows!
Within it I run about
In every direction, looking.

24. Already they have killed me.
This my flesh they cut,
And here they threw it down.

CYCLE BY INFORMANT 24

25. Over the great brush-bearing land
We shall look,
And beneath us that light we shall see.

On the great rocky mountain
We shall learn,
And beneath us that light we shall see.

26. Long ago upon the flat land [the deer].
Truly we went finding.
Over there, over there, over there, over there,
Truly we went finding.

Long ago upon the mountain top,
The deer
Truly we went knowing.
Over there, over there, over there, over there,
Truly we went knowing.

27. I was whistling [for my partner],
I was whistling.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

224
539

I was whistling.
Over there a deer I killed.
I was whistling.

I was shouting [for my partner],
I was shouting,
I was shouting.
Over there a deer I killed.
I was shouting.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

28. Then I at dawn am going;
Then, indeed, I see.
Then I at dawn am going.(12)

Deer speaks.

29. Red are my horns, my horns,
With their branching ends.

The horns of the deer are said to grow red when its death is ap- [226]
proaching.

A MODERN SONG

Deer speaks.

30. My fine horns fell off,
I was confused.
There I stood, puzzled,
My fine horns pulled off.

I tried to run home.
I thought,
Truly, I am unhappy.
I thought,
What shall I do to put them back
That I may run gaily?(3)

31. Rocks upstanding!
Rocks upstanding!
Under them I am lying.
A man is descending.
Look! He comes here.(20)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

32. You killed me.
I fell.
I knew not what I was doing
As I ran.(12)

A hunter who had killed a deer, speaks to it.

33. Now do not make me sick, because I have killed you. God left you here for the purpose: that I might kill you and that I might eat.(29)

Hunters might spend several days in the mountains, meeting at a different rendezvous every night. If they had a good deal of meat, they "jerked" it before carrying it home in their string bags. On the return, each distributed it among his relatives, often sending gifts to far distant villages.[6] The tail he kept, either for donation to some family fetish or for trade.

COMMUNAL HUNTING

The big "surround" for rabbit or deer must once have been a common occurrence, for Papago tales abound in incidents which use it as a background. The method was to build a brush fence with one small opening across the mouth of some desert valley. Then a large circle of beaters would drive the game toward this bottleneck. For deer and antelope, skilled marksmen stood behind the fence with stone-tipped arrows. For rabbit every one helped, with wooden-tipped arrows, sticks, or stones. No rabbit sticks or nets seem to have been used.

It was in the "surround" that the hunt chief functioned. His title, *tópetam,* means literally, rabbiter (*tópi,* cotton-tail rabbit, *tam,* agentive). He was a hereditary leader, who was as much ritualist as business manager, and the heir to the office is often thought of now as the logical appointee for government stockman. Some informants were not sure whether the same man directed both the rabbit and the deer drives, but in both cases it was "an old man who knew the talk." Granting that the rituals for the two hunts may sometimes have descended through different family lines, we shall speak provisionally of any such leader as the hunt chief.

[6] For the complicated system of gift distribution see Underhill, 1937, pp. 99–101.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

THE RABBIT DRIVE[9]

The time for the big rabbit hunts was in the rainy season, when there was plenty of vegetation and "the rabbits got fat and lazy." Men hunted as often as they could spare time from their fields, but there was a ceremonial drive at the opening of the season, between the two nights of rainmaking. At this time the village swarmed with guests, and every male present turned out to help provide a feast. Women did not join.

On the preceding evening the hunt chief mounted to the roof of his house and issued a call for all the men to meet next day at an appointed place, where the wall of brush had been built. The wall had one opening, and early the next morning the hunt chief took his place beside it, carrying in his left hand a bow and in his right a ceremonial arrow, decorated with a deer tail. It was with this arrow that he would point the men to their positions, after having made his ritual speech. The speech was full of "soft words," designed to spare the feelings of the game animals by not using their names.

RABBIT HUNT SPEECH
(Archie)

1. Now has my desire fulfilled itself,
Oh you, my kinsmen.

I looked on high.
Surprised, I saw
The sun about to move on its circuit.
Then thus did I fulfill my desire.

I did gather to me the youths grown
And tell them my purpose.
Then forth I went, and at the base of a tree
Did lay me.
This was the goal [for the two lines of beaters].

Then did I point the road toward it,
And along it did I lead the youths.
There did I kill

[9] Russell, p. 82, mentions a Pima rabbit drive.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Those who did stay within their houses [ground squirrels],
The little ones with ears who run about [rabbits],
The stiff haired ones [rats].

Then was the sun growing low.
Then home I brought my kill.
Then came forth the old men.
They flayed it.
They pounded the bones.

Then came forth the old women.
The three shamans they took [three pot stones]
And set them up.
Within they piled the heap [of firewood].
They brought the jar
And lit the fire.

Then was the sun about to set.
They took out [the meat]
And sent it forth as gifts
Hanging [from the bearer's hand].

Then did I think that my desire was good.
You will thus also think and so desire,
All you, my kinsmen.(2)

After the speech the hunt chief appointed two head beaters, usually the same from year to year, since "they knew how." They were to lead the lines of men and boys in two wide half circles and, where they met they were to make a fire.(2) The fire at the rabbit hunt is a common southwestern requirement,[10] usually for ceremonial purposes but the aged hunt chief interviewed said no fire was really made. "It was just in the speech."

The game, which consisted of all the small rodents the beaters could scare up, was driven to the opening where the hunt chief stood (with the best marksmen beside him) armed with wooden-tipped arrows. "We didn't have rabbit sticks. We were proud of our shooting." However, the beaters picked up any stone or stick they could find, to assist in the kill. Hunters shared their catch

[10] Laguna (Parsons, 1920a, p. 66); Hopi (Parsons, 1939, p. 127); Zuñi (Stevenson, 1901-2, p. 91).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

with any relatives who had been less fortunate. Most of it was taken home and prepared for a feast to which all the old and indigent were invited, as well as the visiting kin. The speech emphasizes also the gifts of cooked food which were sent to other houses.

THE DEER DRIVE AND THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

As the ceremonial rabbit drive opened the summer hunting season, so a deer drive opened the winter season. At least, this was so among the northern Papago, whose deer hunting began in November. The southern Papago held their deer dance and hunt in August. In both cases the procedure was the same. A blacktailed deer was ritually killed and cooked, with corn, beans, and squash from the harvest. Songs, dancing, and orations united and sanctified all this food in a general cleansing ceremony.

The rites were instituted by I'itoi, say the ceremonialists, because after he had created the deer he found that the people became sick from eating too much of it. So he showed them a dance by which they might "step down the sickness." Though this is popularly known as "deer dance," it has nothing in common with the dances for multiplying game, so common among the Pueblos. Its Papago name is *mâ'makah,* a word no informant could translate. One member of the *maam* sib thought that it might refer to that group, to which he said *I'itoi* had specifically given it. Certain it is that in this ceremony sib distinctions play an important part. Special roles are assigned to members of *maam* and *dapap,* but since these are the oldest and most important members of Buzzard and Coyote, respectively, it may be that the distinction is actually one of moiety.[23]

A cleansing ceremony was given in each of the important ceremonial centers, Archie, Pisinimo, Kaka, and Quitovaca (Sonora). The only one still in force is that held at Quitovaca, though the Pisinimo people, who are Catholics, substitute for it the killing of a beef in front of the church on Holy Cross day and the distribution of cakes instead of venison. Accounts of the dance were obtained from Kaka, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, and Quitovaca and are different enough to be treated separately.

[23] For description of sibs and moieties see Underhill, 1939, pp. 30–34.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

At Kaka, the first step was the calling of a meeting to decide on the date of the feast. Here a speech was made by the hereditary ritual orator for the occasion, who must belong to the *maam* sib.

SPEECH BEFORE DEER HUNT

1. Hail!
I looked upon my buckskin, lo, I saw
It was already all worn out.
I looked upon my bowstring, lo, I saw
It was already all worn out.
Lo, I saw the clothing of my women.
It was already all worn out.
Then did I reveal my desire.

Toward sunset a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade [coyote].
Toward the sea (south) a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond, did I place my white comrade.
Toward sunrise a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade.
Toward the north a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade.

Hither and yon they ran.
This way they ran and killed the deer.
There kept barking the comrade.
There [the deer] fell and thrashed about.
Then did a man run up.
He moved the deer and laid him with his head to westward.
He took the tail and brought it to the shaman.
The shaman sat and marked a square.
He put the tail within it.
Then came the people.
They took the tail and with it they blessed themselves.(39)

After the speech the date for the dance was decided upon, and runners were sent to neighboring villages, each carrying a bundle

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

of sticks to indicate the number of days that must elapse before the dance. The chief of the invited village arranged these sticks on end in the council house, and every day he removed one. When the last stick was gone, it was time for his party to start.

Meantime, at the home village, samples of all the vegetable crops were gathered, ready to be piled up on the dance ground. Pits were dug for roasting corn, and jars were made ready to boil the deer meat. All the hunters of the village went out to get the deer.

The method in recent years has been to surround the deer on horseback, driving it toward concealed marksmen, who shot it. In former times, as has been told in detail for other areas, death must be caused by smothering; no blood might be shed. In any case, there must be a short ceremony before the butchering. The deer was laid with its head toward the west, as has just been described, and then four men stepped forward, one from each of the sibs. First the *dapap* man took hold of its legs and turned the body over on the other side; then the *maam* man turned it back again, after which *dpki* and *vaaf* performed similar motions. Then the ceremonial orator advanced and spoke as follows:

SPEECH BEFORE BUTCHERING THE DEER
(Kaka)

2. Hail!
Thus did my desire fulfill itself.
It was thick straw.
Therewith an image did I make and finished it.
It was the rainbow.
Therewith did I make hindlegs.
It was the Milky Way.
Therewith did I make forelegs.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It was thick straw.
I placed it on the head [as horns]
Of broad leaves did I make the ears
Then did I fold up the wind

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

And make a snout.
It was hail.
And I made eyes.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It seems obvious that the next three lines should have preceded "It was the wind" above. They were written as dictated, but would seem to show that a ceremonialist's memory is not infallible.

It was a cloud.
I pressed it on the buttocks [as a tail].
Then I made hair,
And I let loose the deer.

There stood a mountain, black and stony.
Toward that it leaped;
Behind the gray hill it stood.
Behind the deer there stood a flowering tree,
And behind that the youths.
They felled the deer;
They wounded it.
They ran up, the old men, the youths, the children.
They rubbed themselves [with the tail]
And prayed for a good life.(39)

After the speech the hunters butchered the deer in the regulation fashion. When the tail was cut off, each man passed it over his body in blessing. Then it was stiffened with an arrow and given to an *ʔapap* man to carry home, while a *maam* man carried the meat. The bearer of the tail went to the ceremonial house circling it four times counter-clockwise. Then he entered and presented the tail to the shaman, who, perhaps, in early days made a mark on the ground as described in the first speech. All the villagers then came and passed it over their bodies saying: "Make me well. Let me have no pain."

The meat was cooked without salt by two old women, one from each moiety. Before it was put on the fire the shaman waved over it a branch of cholla, of a particularly thorny variety. The branch

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

was thought to collect any sickness or evil and remove it from the meat. The meat must be cooked in new pottery jars, or if this was impossible in jars which had never been used except at the cleansing ceremony.(3) The cooking took place at night, and meantime there was dancing by a file of men and women arranged alternately, their bodies painted with white dots to represent corn. The men carried war arrows, women nothing. The dancers did all the singing, while the musicians merely used the scraping stick. At dawn all ran to a large pond, where they bathed in the cold water. The songs are realistic descriptions of deer hunting.

796x 224 539x

SONGS FOR THE CLEANSING CEREMONY
(Kaka)

3. I am running and shouting.
Lo, I have killed a deer.
I am running and shouting.

I am whistling.
Lo, I have found the deer.
I am whistling.(3)

4. The red ocotillo flower!
There I found the deer.
They ran
And they broke it down.

The yellow chamisa[?] flower,
There I found the deer.
They rushed forth
And broke it down.(3)

5. An old male deer
Is walking.
An old male deer
Is walking.

"An arrow is sticking in me,
There it is sticking.
My head I jerk!
My tail I shake!" (3)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

X796
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X539

HUNTING

An old male deer
Is running.
An old male deer
Is running.

"An arrow is sticking in me,
There it is sticking.
My tail I shake!
My head I jerk!" (5)

6. My poor younger brother,
First running around,
Saw that his horns were white.[13]

He saw, my elder brother,
Afterward running around,
He saw that his horns were black.[14] (5)

The deer speaks.

7. Our little Elder Brother
Made the whole earth.
I worked with him. (5)

The deer sings.

8. Bird children!
There by the place where I sing
They chatter low and sing.

Bird children!
There by the place I haunt
They chatter low and run away. (5)

9. *Haiya!*
My headdress of eagle down
Over yonder is shining![14]

Haiya!
My headdress of feathers
Over yonder shows black. (5)

[13] New horns have skin and hair on them. Later this falls off and leaves the horns white.

[14] The horns turn black in summer, the rainy season.

[14] Composed by the man who introduced the dance to Kaka and referring to his own headdress.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The following song belongs to the purification of an eagle killer, but it is "all right in the cleansing ceremony." 796x 224 539x

10. I met the eagle often
The green rock upon.

I met the hawk often
The white rock upon.(3)

The song given below is sung when the dance is about to end. The dancers then run to a distant pond to wash off the paint.

Beside the wide water,
There is a strand.
Very wet!(3)

During the dance the shaman might suck the piles of corn and squash on display, to remove any evil. If they had been infected, he would withdraw blood and spit it out.(4) The spectators, meantime, feasted on cooked food, either pit-baked corn or a stew of corn and beans. Toward the close of the dance the deer meat was distributed, cut into small pieces, with the recitation of a ritual now forgotten. Each person took a portion, which he rubbed downward over his face and body, saying: "Make me well." After the meat was eaten, no bones might be thrown on the ground lest a dog should carry them to a house where there was a menstruating woman. If this should happen, no more deer could be caught. All bones must be placed on top of the ceremonial house, where they remained for a year. Even those who took meat home to other members of the family must first remove the bones. 796x 224

The meat had all been distributed by the time the dance ended. The dancers took a cold bath to wash off the paint, and then they were free from restrictions.

At Santa Rosa and Archie, the preliminary announcement and speech were the same as at Kaka, and all the men of the village went out to get the deer. But it must not be shot. Anyone who wounded it, either with arrow or rock, would be wounded himself in the same place. The proper method was to strangle it. The men surrounded it, on foot, clubbed it and threw it to the ground. Then a hereditary officiant with the title *mi'itcitam* (killer on an- [184]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

other's behalf) stepped into the circle, placed his foot on its neck, and strangled it. After this came the ceremony of turning the deer from one side to the other by representatives of the four sibs, then the ritual speech and the butchering.

The meat was cooked the following day on the dance ground, where piles of cooked corn and squash had been brought by the villagers. Before the dance the shaman took a branch of thorny cholla and waved it over the pots in which the meat was cooking and the vegetables on display. If there were sickness in the village, he carried the thorny branch around to "collect the evil from the houses," then took the branch out to the north, the abode of evil, and buried it. While he did so, the ritual orator recited a speech for magic purposes, in a low voice, with emphasis on the last word of each sentence. In the transcribed version an ocotillo is spoken of as collecting the evil, rather than the cholla, whose thorns are finer, but more numerous.

SPEECH AT THE CLEANSING CEREMONY
(Santa Rosa)

12. Hail!
There did I call by the kinship term
My young men grown.

Toward the west was a black road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth [I sent] and speedily did come
Where stood a black ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the west; a branch I broke with all my force.
I took it, and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was, toward the ocean, (south)
A road of many hardships made and finished.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Four stops made the youth and speedily did come,
Where stood an ocotillo painful to the touch.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within, is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the sea, a branch I broke, with all my force.
I took it and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness,
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was toward the sunrise,
A white road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth and speedily did come
Where stood a white ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the sunrise break a branch with all my force.
I took it and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was, toward the north,
A red road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth and speedily did come
Where stood a red ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Four times around it did I circle

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

And toward the north a branch I broke with all my force.
I took it and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

Then forth came black tarantula magician.
In four places did he bite the earth
And continue biting,
Some shreds of sickness did he fold up,
Did pound them into the earth and stake them down.

Then forth came the red wasp magicians.
In four places did they bite the earth
And continue biting.

Of the earth, in these four places,
Did they make ollas.
Within, did they pour sickness.
Did pound it into the earth and stake it down.

From above descended mighty winged birds,
Their own wing feathers did they pull out
And therewith whipped and scattered some of the sickness.
All gone it seemed.

Then came the little sleeping people [ants]
Entering my house in ceaseless journeys,
The food that caused my sickness did they take
And yonder toward the north wind did they send it.

Then did the moisture that lies above
Begin to fall,
And altogether did destroy the sickness.

Thus should you also always think,
All you my kinsmen.(4)

When the speech was over those nearby called the orator by the kinship term, by way of salutation. Then the dancers filed out of the ceremonial house and ranged themselves in a line facing east. Music was supplied by singers with scraping sticks and basket resonators, who took their places just behind the dancers. In this cere-

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

mony the notched stick must not be scraped with another stick, but with the foreleg of the deer.

Dancers were two boys and two girls (representing the children once sacrificed at this village to prevent a flood). Their bodies were painted red, with white spots to represent corn. Some informants said the faces were half yellow and half white as the representatives of these children were painted at the prayer-stick festival. Boys carried an arrow over the right shoulder, girls an ear of corn in each hand.

The few songs obtained deal with the dance itself.

13. The feast, the feast!
It begins and goes forward.(27)

14. What man is it
Stooping here? [over dead deer]
Oh, it is hawk meeter man
Here stooping.(12)

What man is it
Who has killed the deer?
Oh, it is the wind man; the deer he has killed!
Yonder he struggles to carry it on his head.(27)

15. Do you see, yonder coming toward us
The tail of the black deer?(27)

Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing, walking yonder on the mountains
It nearly fell!(12)

At Pisinimo in the south the *maam* sib is very important, and various features of the ceremony hinge on the contrast of *maam* and *dapap* or, perhaps, since the other clans are never mentioned, of their respective moieties, Buzzard and Coyote.

Here no speeches were remembered for the announcement or for butchering the deer. It was killed with arrows in the usual way but a *maam* man must bring home the meat and an *dapap* the tail. Before the feast, the village elders brought the ceremonial basket from its hiding place in the desert and placed it to the east of the

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

dance ground, but not near enough to be seen or touched, that its power might not be injured. In a line between the basket and the council house they placed, first a tuft of eagle down, then the branch of cholla which had been waved over the deer meat, and finally an ironwood stake which was to be pounded into the ground, thus crushing down sickness and misfortune.(1)

Before the ceremony began, two shamans, one from each moiety, took stone axes and pounded the ironwood stake until it was invisible. Then they collected evil with the cholla branch and burned it.

There were two boy dancers and two girls from each moiety, chosen from all the country around for their long hair. They were painted in the council house by two men, one from each moiety. All had their bodies covered with dots to represent corn kernels, but the Buzzards had red bodies with white dots, since "the buzzards have red flesh and hearts," while the Coyotes had white bodies with red dots. On the crown of the head they had an eagle feather: a down feather for the girls, wing feather for boys.

The dance was held at night. After sunset the dancers emerged from the ceremonial house in single file, boys and girls alternating, with a *maam* boy leading. As they emerged, all the *maam* dancers turned to the south, the *dapap* to the north. They arranged themselves in one long line running north and south.

The singers started a song, and when it was nearly ended the *maam* dancer at the south started it again. When he had nearly finished, the *dapap* at the north took it up and finished. Then a new song was started, and the dancing began.

Each song was sung four times: twice while the dancers stepped sidewise, twice while they flexed their knees in position. Toward morning the songs changed, and the dancers began to circle counterclockwise. With the dawn song the dancers suddenly ran about a hundred feet to the east. There they danced during the singing of three songs, and after the last song they ran back into the council house.

Most of the songs are ancient ones, relating to the origin myth, the local version of which was once recited at the ceremony, but is now forgotten.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

16. Am I not Wahu shaman?
Am I not Wahu shaman?
The earth in a circle I spread out;
Above it the terraced clouds I erected.(9)

17. I am Kuhiu shaman;
The terraced mountains I erect.(9)

18. Thus I sing;
The earth I am piling up.
Thus I sing.

Thus I am doing;
The mountains I am piling up.
Thus I am doing.(9)

19. Verily, just now the earth was made,
Verily, just now the earth was made.
Upon it I came forth.
Am I not Yanaihuri shaman?
Upon it I came forth.(9)

20. A great shining crystal
At the foot of the earth is set.
At the foot of a white rainbow
It is set.(9)

21. I am powerful.
I run and run.
Under the east [there is] water gleaming;
Through it I run.
I am powerful.
I run and run.

I am powerful.
I run and run.
Under the west [there is] water glittering.
Through it I run.
I am powerful.
I run and run.(9)

22. I am a shaman running, running;
I am a shaman running, running;

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

K 1796
● 224
K 539

This water behind me lies.
The wind blows!(9)

23. Little shaman!
Acting like a girl,
Under the brown earth
Goes along.(9)

The deer speaks.

24. Yonder I run!
Yonder, lo, I run and run again;
Yonder, just before me, there is light.(9)

25. Who is the man
Who has killed the old male deer?
Yonder he carries it on his head.
It is the wind man,
Killer of the old male deer.
Yonder he carries it on his head.(9) [15]

At this song the dancers start to move slowly toward the east.

26. Over there rainhouses appear;
Delightfully they shine.
There, under the earth,
Delightfully they shine.(9)

Dance motion causes feathers to fly from the dancer's hair.

27. They go, they go!
Many colored, painted, they go.
The feathers fly;
They start to fly.(9)

28. The western rainhouses;
Over there clouds come forth.
Over here they made an end.(9)

Final song, after which the dancers run into the council house. Afterward they go to a pond to bathe.

29. Great water [ocean]!
Beside it is much driftwood.(9)

[15] For a song similar to No. 25 see Russell, p. 301. Some of the preceding have similarities to Russell's "Archaic Songs" pp. 275, 276.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

When the dance was over, the elders gathered up the deer bones, the deer tail, and the scraping sticks. They passed the deer tail around the ceremonial basket, which was then taken to its hiding place in the desert. The deer bones and the scraping sticks were laid beside it. The eagle down which the dancers had worn on their heads was also put inside the basket.(1)

At the Mexican village (of Quitovaca) the dance is still performed every August, ten days before the prayer-stick ceremony. There are no speeches, and the deer is not strangled; but there is an elaborate dance with meat hung on a pole, after the manner of the Tarahumara, farther south.[19]

The dance takes place in the daytime, the dancers being twenty girls and twenty boys, with no clan restrictions. The boys' bodies are painted with horizontal lines in white, and the girls' with white splashes. The girls and unmarried men carry nothing in their hands, while the married men have feathered arrows, with which to "beckon the clouds." The line faces east, with married men at the south end, single at the north. The movements are like those at Pisinimo. To the east of the dancers is a pole on which the deer meat is tied in sacks, and when the dancers circle, it is around this pole. Only a few scattered songs were obtained.

30. The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
They have just come forth!(20)Ed.7.

31. The *maam* clan,
The *maam* clan
Here came forth;
From this reddish earth
Came forth.(20)

32. Am I not the cleansing dance?
Am I not the cleansing dance?
This land is covered with green.(20)

33. The wind blows;
Widely it seems to spread.

[19] Bennett and Zingg, p. 279.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There at the earth's edge
It rests.(20)Ed.4.

34. The rain in a narrow strip moves along.
Under it grass and seed,
In plenty, come forth.(20)

35. There, yonder, far I go.
A little way off, a lonely hill I climb.
Toward me, the deer are straying.
I see them, and like an eagle I scream.(20)

36. [I want to be] brave like a bear.
[I want to be] brave like a puma.
Deer in a long row [would come] toward me.
When I saw them
[I would] squawk like a hawk.

37. The bear, the bear!
He touches the earth with the flat of his hand.
The puma, the puma!
He touches the mountains with the flat of his hand.(20)Ed.6.

After the last song the dancers bathe in cold water, and then for four days they must stay in seclusion, like the warrior and the salt pilgrim, fasting from meat, grease, and salt and using the scratching stick.

It will be noticed that with this ceremony each village seems to have emphasized a particular feature, while the others either have been forgotten or were never instituted. Thus, while the northern villages share the announcement and butchering speeches, it is only at Archie that the deer was ritually strangled and only at Santa Rosa that the long speech was made for annihilating evil. The south remembers no speeches at all, but has some of the oldest songs. At Pisinimo the moieties are stressed more than anywhere else, and at Quitovaca they hold to the subsequent purification for dancers, no longer required elsewhere. Some of these differences may be due to lapses of memory by the informants, since the dance is no longer held except at Kaka and Quitovaca. But others must surely be laid to a gradual differentiation between villages. Whether this meant only the dropping of some features from

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

an originally elaborate feast, or whether new elements like the Santa Rosa speech were actually introduced, must await further investigation.

The cleansing ceremony has been given up in all villages known to the writer. Elements of it may persist in some parts of the reservation, however. At Pisinimo the ceremony seems to have been amalgamated with the Christian celebration of Holy Cross Day (see Chapter XIV).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

616 [524] blew tobacco smoke over him. These smokers held in their mouths a different herb according to the moiety of the man to be purified: a sweet grass for the Coyote moiety and *yerba mansa* for the Buzzard. At the corn dance, which is now only a tradition, Coyote people painted their bodies with white splashes, Buzzard people with red.

Moiety influenced a man's choice of guardian spirit and his dreaming of songs. A Coyote man would be very likely to dream of Coyote, though other animals would be possible. He would never dream of Buzzard, who helps his own "partners".

The Coyote moiety is numerically in the majority as may be noticed in the list of informants. In fact it was difficult to find enough Buzzards to be sure their side of the story would be heard. In songs and chants the expression "our partner" is taken to refer to Coyote without further description, while Buzzard rarely appears.

[522] However, every one is still aware of his moiety (with the exception of one clan to be mentioned below). People use the knowledge principally to taunt one another in joke. This may be done privately but is also much in use at festivals, where it seems to be semi-ceremonial.

"Two women, a Buzzard and a Coyote, came to a pond where a coyote had been drinking. 'Oh, how bad it smells!' said the Buzzard woman. 'That is your partner.' 'Your's smells worse,' said the Coyote woman." (22)

"The Buzzard people, seeing a buzzard in the air, will say: 'Our partner is always dancing.' Coyotes reply: 'He has to stay up there. He smells bad.'" (22)

"'Your partner steals,' say the Buzzards. 'Well, yours eats dead things' the Coyotes reply." (22)

● [224] A Coyote man would never kill a coyote. If the animal pilfered from his garden, he would simply submit. "We can't chase away our partner." In killing a deer he would leave the entrails and perhaps a piece of meat hanging on a tree, saying: "Here, partner. This is your share." A village called "Coyote Lives There" once contained a tame coyote, which informants think must have been kept by a member of the Coyote moiety. "It would not stay for a Buzzard." There are fewer stories about the treatment of Buzzard, whose cult seems to have lapsed.

Sibs

614 Five patrilineal sibs are known, with a legendary sixth and seventh. They are:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

directed a war party and planned its strategy even if he was too old to do much fighting himself. 624 701

But there was often a younger man to head the actual fighting. It was difficult to get data on this field leader since the very oldest people were children at the time of the last fighting. But as in other cases, it would appear that the practice differed in different villages. In San Xavier and Komarik he was a different man each time. In Komarik he was chosen by the elders as the most capable young warrior, in San Xavier, he volunteered and got up a war party in the Plains fashion to take vengeance on the Apache for slain relatives. Archie had a more or less permanent field leader chosen for prowess and known as the Bitter Man, "because he would not give in to the Apache." Kuhatk had also such a leader and it was understood that when Kuhatk and Archie went on the warpath together, Kuhatk should lead "because it had been given them by Elder Brother to be the best fighters."

HUNT LEADER

The Papagos hunted deer, hare and rabbit, small rodents and birds. Most of this work was done by individuals or small unofficial groups. But deer was hunted officially for the cleansing ceremony in the autumn and there were communal rabbit drives when visitors were to be feasted, especially at the time of the drinking ceremony before the rains. For communal hunts of both kinds, there was a leader who set the day, chose the locality, called the people together at dawn, appointed the beaters and made the required speech. His title was tópetam, rabbiter. He passed his office down, as did the others, by instructing a younger man, usually a kinsman, and finally asking the council to ratify his appointment as the new leader. 224 624

GAME LEADER

The title of this official was tópetam tciticvi, rabbiter for games. Probably the hunt leader originally had the function, since the communal drive and the athletic contest require similar organization. But in many villages the office of game leader was so important that it was held by a special man. His duty was to make the arrangements for inter-village games, see that the runners were properly trained, take charge of the party on the march to the challenged village, lead the cheering, argue for his side in the matter of fouls, appoint the referees, see that the relay runners got off in the proper order. His ceremonial duty was the recitation of a speech before the contest began. 526 624

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

daylight hours. But there was also a division according to season and age. In summer, the older men did the farm work, with help from the young men and women at planting and harvest. The young men did some hunting, travelling, ditch building, house building and practiced for the races on which the old men bet. Women, in summer, gathered wild foods, the older women cooked and made baskets while the young ground corn and fetched wood and water. In winter the old men made rope, tools and weapons while the young men fought and hunted deer: the old women still cooked and the young ones were, as always, the wood and water carriers.

The distinction between young and old approached that in a modern society between laboring and employing classes. Heavy labor, everywhere, was done by the young, under the direction of the old. Young men had no voice in council or even in the planning of a war raid, an occasion when, in some Indian societies, they were so prominent. Young women did not manage their households. Youth was considered unfit for thinking and planning and, both in the household and the village, the commanding positions belonged to the old.

It was also the old who practiced the special crafts whose returns went beyond the scope of gifts and became commercial goods. The constant labor required of youth left little time for the long process of learning pottery, netting, mat plaiting, skin dressing and weaving by the Papago process of imitation and repetition. Men and women did not "sit down" to these crafts until middle age. Coiled basketry was the one exception to the rule, for baskets were a necessity and every girl had to learn enough about them to make one during her puberty seclusion. But the other specialties often were not begun until there were grown sons and daughters-in-law in the home to carry on the day's work.

Among the mens' specialties, deer hunting was the most common and was the only one practiced by young men. It meant a long apprenticeship beginning in boyhood and involving the learning of magic and the clever use of the deerhead disguise. One man in a family was sometimes the hunter while the others attended to the land. The other arts were tool making, weaving and skin dressing. The last two are handed over to women in tribes where all the men are busy with war and hunting. But young Papago women had a full time occupation as mere carriers and neither war nor hunting was a major occupation. The women's arts were the plaiting of sleeping mats and of ceremonial baskets, the netting and dying of the intricately made carrying net, the weaving of bands on the belt loom and the making of pottery.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

The most formal procedure was for one of the older women of the village, frequently the Keeper's wife, to have the gathering party announced by the crier. All the able bodied women of the village would then go out together and pick the spot clean. Each patriarchal family made its own arrangements as to the disposal of the harvest, some putting it in a common storehouse, some dividing it among the various young wives. Women who could not go because of illness or segregation shared the harvest of their families. 222

The picking lasted three or four days and the women camped in the open, the older ones acting as directors and chaperones. Sometimes an old man or two went with them and, if there were danger of the Apaches, some husbands with bows and arrows. But no man ever worked at food gathering and the guards spent their time hunting rats and rabbits. The women dried or pit-baked their harvest on the spot and made a holiday of it with songs and stories. This was the time when daring youths sneaked to the camp at night and tried to decoy a maiden out into the dark. [836]

Often the women of a village did not go all together but in different family groups at different times. The female head of one patriarchal family would command her youthful subordinates to be ready and might invite the heads of other families. Then they proceeded like the large group. There was little danger of their taking what others might want because no woman could carry more than her one burden basket full, but there was a general feeling that it was wrong to be greedy and not give others a chance. When they returned they made small gifts of their harvest to relatives in the village: gifts which were reciprocated in the usual way.

The mens' deer hunting grounds were determined in a very loose way, like the women's gathering grounds. A mens' hunting party was arranged in the council but not for relatives only, since skilled deer hunters were few. They went to certain mountains rather loosely understood to be pre-empted by their village but no informant could say what would be the consequences if they went elsewhere. "Probably no one would say anything." Then follows another example of the economy of abundance. "There weren't many hunters. There were deer enough." Each hunter's kill had to suffice for the whole of the economic unit to which he belonged, which might mean from two to ten families. He butchered his deer on arrival and then called his children to carry pieces to each household, according to the number of its members. Occasionally "the deer was all gone but the bones before he had finished" and his own family got nothing. But the gifts were, of course, reciprocated and he had done his part toward the support of the unit. 224 423

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

224 423 Now that cattle raising has taken the place of hunting, its arrangements are very similar. A village unit uses the neighboring range as it formerly used the hunting grounds but the range has no definite limits and no objection is made if the cattle of other units are found there. A few families have accumulated enough cattle so that their ownership ranks as a business, managed on modern lines. Many, however, sell only two or three head a year to local buyers and butcher about as many for the family as they formerly butchered deer. They distribute gifts of beef just as they once distributed venision.[1]

FOOD GIFTS

431 Food was the currency of the Papago economic system. Small gifts of it were continually passing within the intimate family group, and penetrating now and then to further connections. We have described under kin behavior the frequent interchange of cooked food within the geographic unit. There was no particular rule as to quantity. One family gave two large wooden spoonfuls to every household at every meal; another, cooked for each meal, a four gallon pot and distributed it all, sometimes leaving nothing for the home household which subsisted on gifts. Other households sent gifts only once or twice a week or when they had something unusual. The ratio of giving was determined by custom with each group as the elaborateness of Christmas gifts might be determined in a White family. But it was kept up regularly, each gift being reciprocated with a like amount.

431 484 Gifts made to more distant kin were generally at the time of harvest but there was an exception when kin came to visit. People travelling through a village made the home of any relative their stopping place and then they were not only fed but given cloth, buckskins, beads or anything the family had. It was a sort of insurance which made it safe for the host family to travel in their turn for there was a strong feeling that land outside one's own village unit was dangerous ground.

736 [554] Besides the gifts which cemented relatives together, the Papago had a system of charity. Although they did not feature generosity as did certain Plains Indians it was a highly appreciated virtue and a man known to practice it had a high status in the community. No one was ever rich and the little extra that any family could accumulate was better invested in good will than kept. Most dependents were cared for by their family groups but in the unusual case that

[1] This section was written before the new regulations for cattle raising were instituted by the U. S. government.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Then the spider sang to me: 159x 787

Gray spider
Magic making
At the cave entrance hanging
Do not think I shall fall.
Twice I go up and down
And I return again
Therefore I am hanging, hanging here.

Our men went to hunt deer on the hills, because those summer days are when the does are big with young and taste sweet. Or else they worked in our field. There were so many men that we girls did not have to help weed the corn. But we took cactus syrup out to the field, mixed with water, that the men might drink it while they knelt on the hot earth, pulling a mesquite stick to and fro to cut off the weeds. They were going to be medicine men, all three of our husbands, and perhaps they already had visions, but they worked like other men. Ah, that was a clever household! Three medicine men and one man-woman. 159x 224 241

We girls used to spend all day with that man-woman, Shining Evening. She went off with us to gather plants and she could carry more than any of us and dig longer. She ground corn with us, all taking turns at my mother-in-law's grinding slab. 159x 838

Our husbands used to tease us girls. "How do we know these children running around the house belong to us! We are away in the mountains all the time and in the fields. It is Shining Evening who is with the women." Then they would laugh and say to the babies: "Run along! Over there is your daddy!" When they got us alone they would say: "Is he really all right?" We said: "Yes, Just like a woman. We have forgotten he is a man."

When the summer was over and the pond dried up Where the Water Whirls Around, we took our babies and went moving over the hills, following the water. Over the mountains where you call it Mexico, there were more of our people who had water ditches in their fields. We worked for them and they gave us food. With many other villages we went, as if to war, because of the Apaches. We sent word all around with little sticks, ten or twelve, so that people might count them and know the day when we were going. Then we started out, the children and the bedding and a small grinding stone on a horse, and we women running beside with our carrying nets, with all the pots, and perhaps the baby on top. Far up in the hills, our husbands went running with their bows and arrows, looking for deer, and sometimes they met us with loads of meat on their backs. 159x 221 464

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

child was born, because the baby had hot breath for days and days before it died. 159x 152 153

I always knew when my children were to die. I am one who knows things, because, even though they took my crystals out, there was always something in me. Once, when my baby was sick, I dreamed that I was passing through a wash. A woman sat there with a child, and its hair was blowing back as though it was in the water, only the wash was dry. I said: "What are you doing here?" "We live here." I knew that meant something strange was coming. 159x 787

Another time I dreamed that someone who seemed a medicine man again led me to a wash. It was full of babies and children, big and little, all crawling around over each other, like worms. "What does it mean?" I asked that man who took me. "It means all your children are going to die. You will have no children at your house."

But I saved one child, a girl. I gave her to my mother to nurse, because an old woman can nurse with us, as well as young ones. That girl grew up. She used to sit on my head when I was running along with the carrying basket, sometimes with another baby on top of it. I took her out to the hills with me when I was gathering fruit and cactus. 159x

"Never step over a snake," I told her, "nor even the trail of a snake for you will have the vomiting sickness. Don't step on a horned toad, it will make you foot sore. And you must learn the difference between the big ants who are the medicine men and who sting and the little kind ants that will not hurt you." [869] [825]

When all our family camped for days and days, to bake the cholla buds, we made a little enclosure of boughs for our children. "Stay there and do not play hard. You will be thirsty and drink up our water." So they made dolls out of leaves and played at grinding corn with sand and little flat stones. Sometimes the children brought us something to eat. In the Month of Rain, when the birds got their feathers wet in the thunder storms so they hopped along the ground and could not fly, then our children would chase them and catch them in their hands. Doves and woodpeckers they brought in to us, and we roasted them on a spit with the feathers on. 159x 854 224 857

We like children, you know. We talk to them quietly and tell them what to do, but we do not scold. When our children are running about the house, in and around everything, we let them run. If they break something, then that thing is just broken. We do not say anything. Sometimes they run across the circle when we are dancing. Or when the medicine man is going about with his branch of thorns, removing sickness, they might try to grab it. No one would speak about that. We like them to be happy. 159x 854

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

oak country to gather acorns. In August another variety of wild greens was ready to eat, and, finally, in September the prickly pear ripened.

Without domesticated animals, the Desert People depended on wild life for their meat, which they dried and stored or ate fresh. All through the year the hunters went out after bighorn sheep, deer, peccary, and rabbits.

This was a way of life in which everyone had to work in order to eat. Someone had to sow the seed or protect the crops while others were gathering wild plants, and, while some of the family were gathering acorns or saguaro fruit, others might be off hunting. And always there was the work at preparing food for eating or storage, making clothes and utensils, and the general business of keeping a family going; small wonder that industry was thought of as a cardinal virtue, for the lazy man would starve and bring others to the verge of starvation. Nor is it surprising that families were strongly cohesive, that they included people other than father, mother, and children, or that babies were welcomed. The more hands, the more co-operative work, the more food. We shall see later that these values remain powerful factors in Papago society today.

FIRST WHITE INFLUENCES ON PAPAGO TECHNOLOGY

When Father Kino came up from Mexico in 1700, he brought cattle and horses, oxen and wooden plows, wheat, peas, lentils, and *garbanzos*. These the Papago accepted according to their own pattern. It is possible that they simply turned the cattle loose and hunted them much as they had always hunted deer.[1] At any rate, for years there were semiwild cattle in the southern and eastern parts of what is now the Papago Reservation. The wheat and legumes fitted more naturally into the Papago pattern. They were planted in winter in the same fields used in summer for corn, so that there were now two growing seasons instead of one, which somewhat regularized the food supply.

Horses were very useful, easing the difficulty of the semiannual treks from mountain to valley and return and shortening the traveling time between villages. However, like many other tribes, the Papago attached to the horse a value quite out of proportion to its usefulness, and ownership of horses became a source of prestige. Horses and cattle were individually owned, in contrast to land, to which an individual had a right only while he was using it.

1. Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation at the Papago Village of Santa Rosa," p. 12. In contrast, a group of Indians in northern Mexico closely related to the Papago, who were completely "missionized," used white methods of handling stock; yet they violently resisted white encroachments, even to the point of bloody revolt.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

products. However, his visit may have followed a season when no crop was planted on account of late rains, such as Kino[36] cited in 1701 in the vicinity of San Rafael del Actúm Grande (in southern Arizona), where no maize had been raised by the Papago that year because of a like situation.

All our informants agreed that wild plants and animals formerly constituted a much larger, and much more dependable, fraction of the total Papago food supply than did cultivated plants. Seasonally women devoted themselves to the gathering of wild foods while men and boys hunted rabbits. When the wild foods ripened, large quantities were gathered and stored, but, just before the giant cactus harvest, food became very scarce, as indicated by one of their names for the period that would correspond to our month of May, *ko'ohk macat*, "the painful moon." One informant said that when he was a boy it was not uncommon to "be so hungry that a person became dizzy when he stood up." As in the past, so today, the Papago utilize much more wild plant and animal food than do the Pima; in fact, it is now comparatively rare to find the Pima gathering wild foods of any kind, while many Papago still utilize them to some extent as a matter of necessity, for Papago agriculture is today almost as precarious as in olden times.

Underhill[37] has well pointed out that poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Much the same outlook is still to be observed among the Pima, despite their deculturation. The Pimans did not hoard property; they were constantly making gifts, chiefly of food, for their food supply, meagre though it seems viewed from our standard of living, was more than sufficient for their simple needs, and anything beyond the bare necessities for sustaining life was regarded as a surplus. Papago migratory life, involving the difficulty of food storage, added to the problems of preserving food in so hot a land, greatly fostered

[36] Bolton, *loc. cit.*
[37] Underhill, *Papago*, pp. 90-2.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NV28
Pima NV29

Pi 222 262 137 The remainder of Pima native plant economy was, in general, quite similar to that described for the Papago, with only such departures as were imposed by vegetative differences of their area. Thus, the organ-pipe cactus and the sand root were not available in their region; in fact, roots of any kind except *Monolepis Nuttalliana* were little used. Mescal, because of its scarcity in the area, ordinarily was gathered only in time of famine, but was sometimes secured from the Papago in trade. On the other hand, there was a greater abundance of mesquite than among the Papago and this was of marked significance in their diet. Also the screwbean *(Prosopis pubescens)* abounded along the Gila and ranked high in Pima economy, though little known to the Papago. Acorns were secured only by trade from the Papago. Neither Pima nor Papago utilized sunflower seeds.

It should be noted here that the importance of specific wild plants in Pimería Alta varied somewhat locally, depending upon their abundance geographically and from year to year. In addition to those listed the Pimans utilized many others of less value, and these have been discussed in detail elsewhere.[87]

Utilization of Native Wild Animals

Pi Pa 224 262 136 Wild animals constituted a valuable source of food for both tribes in early days, and the proportion of game in the diet was greater than at present. Chico Bailey said that when he was a boy the Papago in his area almost always had meat at each of their two meals (doubtless beef in part). The mule or black-tailed deer *(Odocoileus hemionus)*, formerly more abundant in Pimería Alta and hunted throughout a large part of the year, was of considerable value as a source of food and clothing for both Papago and Pima. This also is indicated for the Papago by the fact that it was the game animal around

[87] Castetter and Underhill, *Ethnobiology of the Papago Indians;* Russell, *op. cit.;* Hrdlicka, *Physiological and Medical Observations.*

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

which some of their ceremonies centered. Pima informants maintained that as a source of animal food it ranked second only to the black-tailed jackrabbit which was also emphasized in Pima ceremonials. More rarely hunted by both peoples was the Arizona white-tailed deer *(Odocoileus couesi)*, found only in the mountains. Antelope *(Antilocapra americana)* were formerly quite plentiful, as indicated by the fact that the international boundary survey of 1892-94 found antelope in every open valley along the border between Nogales and Yuma. They were sometimes stalked by both peoples, particularly in the tall grassland in the eastern part of Pimería, but did not constitute a dependable source of food and were more rarely hunted than were deer. When the Gila dried up, as it did periodically, both Papago and Pima stalked deer and antelope at water holes. Bear were not taboo, but were never hunted.

Some information on early utilization of animals was presented by Kino, who related that in 1698 Sobaipuri Indians at Quíburi, on the San Pedro, furnished him various "spoils" including buffalo and deer skins, also buckskins at San Xavier del Bac. The buffalo hides were doubtless obtained from farther east, either by trade or through hunting expeditions. Toward the end of his memoir he writes of the natives of Pimería having many deer and buffalo hides, and antelope skins.[88] Likewise Font,[89] writing in 1775, noted that the Gila Pima women covered themselves with deer skins. Velarde,[90] too, writes of the many deer in Pimería, pointing out that among the Indians to the west the hunting of deer was more common. The Soba at Pitiquín and Caborca were absent hunting deer when Mange[91] visited there in 1694, and the Soba men at El Comac were nude, only the women clothing themselves with "soft skins of hare and deer." In the

[88] Bolton, *Kino*, I, 189, 292; II, 267.
[89] Bolton, *Anza*, IV, 49.
[90] Mange, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 312; Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 132.
[91] Mange, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17, 220.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

middle of the nineteenth century Audubon[88] characterized the Papago as living on turtles and what game they could get, and said "I have seen some elk and antelope skins dressed and terrapin shells are everywhere. We have bought two terrapin ... some roots and the fruit of a plant like the maguey.... The Indians kill them (lizards) with a light wand, giving them a dexterous tap on the head." He also described a kind of mush made of dried grasshoppers, pounded and mixed with meal.

Rabbits were easily secured and were very important to both peoples for food and clothing. Three kinds occurred in the area—the California or black-tailed jackrabbit *(Lepus californicus eremicus* and *L. californicus deserticola)*, the antelope or white-sided jackrabbit *(L. alleni alleni)* and the Arizona cottontail *(Sylvilagus auduboni arizonae);* the black-tailed jackrabbits, available at all seasons, were most numerous, the white-sided ones least so. Pima informants maintained that the black-tailed jackrabbit formerly was the most staple Pima animal food and they killed it in large numbers, chiefly in late summer when it was fattest. Although the Papago regarded cottontail meat as sweet and that of the other varieties poor, the black-tailed jackrabbit was nevertheless of considerable value as food because it was both plentiful and available at all seasons. Except for the communal drive made just before the Papago drinking ceremony, rabbits were often shot by boys, who were expected to keep the family supplied. Men did shoot rabbits when encountered, but made no specific search for them unless other foods were scarce. Some indication of the early situation in this regard is given by Kino,[89] who reported that in going from the Gila to La Concepción (Caborca) in Sonora, the Indians (largely Papago) in all places gave the Spaniards hares, deer, rabbits etc., from their hunts.

Mountain sheep *(Ovis mexicana)* are now rarely seen, but

[88] *Audubon's Western Journal*, pp. 148-50.
[89] Bolton, *Kino*, 1, 187.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

anciently were fairly abundant over portions of Pimería, and a food of considerable significance in Piman diet, although the Pima ate fewer than did the Papago as distances were too great to hunt them. Papago camped seasonally near the mountain tanks or springs and lay in wait for wild sheep. Lumholtz[96] wrote in 1912 that they were still to be found in Sierra del Viejo and Sierra del Alamo, and in rare instances survived almost as far as Hermosillo; Hornaday[95] has presented in some detail the distribution of these animals in Mexico, including *O. canadensis*. They were fairly common in the Pinacate region of northwestern Sonora. Bryan[96] has listed specific points of their occurrence in southern Arizona and Sonora within the present century.

At the close of the seventeenth century Mange[97] found at Bacapa (in Sonora) eighty Papago who sustained themselves with roots, deer and mountain sheep, and noted that part of the people had gone hunting sheep. He encountered at the Pima village of Tusonimo or La Encarnación, in the vicinity of present day Blackwater, on the Gila, a large mound or hill of mountain sheep horns *(carneros cimarrones o silvestres)*, which he estimated contained more than 100,000, and this abundance of horns led him to conclude sheep must have been their common food. Similarly Anza,[98] in seeking to open a land route from Sonora to California, observed in 1774 that in extreme southwestern Arizona, at what are known as the Cabeza Prieta Tanks in the Cabeza Prieta Range, as well as other *tinajas* in the area, certain Papago always camped during the height of the dry season to hunt mountain sheep which came there to drink. In his description he states that whenever the Papago killed a sheep they were very careful to preserve its horns; these were carried to the neighborhood of the water holes and piled there to

[96] Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
[95] Hornaday, *Camp-fires on Desert and Lava*, pp. 378-44.
[96] Bryan, *Papago*, p. 49.
[97] Mange, *op. cit.*, pp. 253, 285.
[98] Bolton, *Anza*, II, 29-30, 155.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU29
Pima NU29

"prevent the Air from leaving the place." Also they cautioned others against removing them because "that element would come out to molest everybody and cause them to experience great troubles." One of our Pima informants, Manuel Lowe, said mountain sheep horns had to be handled carefully and even then rainy cold spells would occur. They must never be tossed out or thrown around, but placed in a designated spot where no one would bother them lest they interfere with the winds and the rains. This was mentioned by Russell[99] for the Pima, and also has its counterpart among the Maricopa.[100] Russell states the Pima ate mountain sheep when obtainable, although even in his day they were no longer abundant, only a few remaining in the Superstition Mountains and in other high ranges on and around the reservation. His experience with a Gila Pima chief indicates these Pima regarded mountain sheep as food fit only for the Papago, who had no fields to look after. However, our Pima informants were all of the opinion that this animal was always eaten when available but that it was of much more importance anciently; and this would seem to be confirmed by Mange's experience at Tusonimo.

The peccary, *javelina* or *jabali (Pecari angulatus)* was fairly plentiful in places although not utilized for food to any great extent. Our observation is that neither Papago nor Pima seem to have cared greatly for it, although Lumholtz[101] thought it was much relished by the former. Russell[102] noted it could not have been an important article of diet among the Pima. Nevertheless the Pima did hunt it somewhat in the desert country to the east of Sacaton.

Various rats were eaten, particularly by the Papago, the packrat (*Neotoma* sp.), most common food in the group,

[99] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[100] Spier, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
[101] Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
[102] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

being rather extensively utilized. An early reference[188] characterizes the Papago as living on seeds, grass, rabbits, rats and wild fruits.

A few birds were included in Piman diet, Gambel quail *(Lophortyx gambelii)* providing the main source of supply, with the abundant western white-winged dove *(Melopelia asiatica mearnsii)* and the mourning dove *(Zenaidura macroura marginella)* also ranking high. The only eggs utilized were those of the Gambel quail. Merriam turkey *(Meleagris gallopavo merriami)* was to be found more plentifully in the mountains formerly than at present, but was hunted only occasionally and then mostly for feathers rather than food. It was not domesticated, although Velarde[189] noted this would not have been difficult. Russell makes no reference to the use of turkeys by the Pima. Velarde relates that in Pimería there were countless turkeys in the mountains. In the same connection he states: "In some places are found thousands of birds *(pavos o gansos)* which are called chickens of the Indies, large and fat and of pleasant taste."[190] These, too, unquestionably were turkeys.

Highly prized as food by both peoples, but more especially by the Papago, were the larvae of the very common lined sphinx moth *(Celerio lineata)* which is two and one-half to three inches long. These caterpillars occurred in great numbers in limited areas on any vegetation, especially amaranth *(Amaranthus Palmeri)*, during or immediately following the rainy season. With their appearance everyone dropped work to gather this great delicacy, which was dried and stored. This is what Garcés[191] referred to, when on a journey from Tubac to San Gabriel he noted the Papago ate

[188] *Documentos*, 3rd ser., IV, 554; *Rudo Ensayo*, p. 150; Hrdlička, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[189] Mange, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-10; Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

[190] Mange, *loc. cit.*; Wyllys, *loc. cit.*

[191] Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X539 [224]

By that time he was old enough to go out every day with the hunters for meat. It was customary for the hunters to go to a certain place and then divide into two parties that were to meet farther on at a given place. The two parties drove the game toward that place, where it was killed and then taken back to the village. The boy went on his first trip and the hunters as usual stopped and discussed where there was most game. The leaders spoke to the boy and said, "You go in a certain direction and hang. The others will go in another direction and drive the game toward you." The boy always minded well, so he went to that place. He saw a tree that leaned to one side, so he threw down his bow and arrows and hung himself in the tree. When the other hunters came to the place they saw him and said, "Why did you do this?" He replied, "Because I was told to." They said, "It was not that. You were told to stay here and if any game passed this way you were to kill it." That day they got no game. The next day they went out again and the boy was told to go to a certain place. The leader told him that if an old man came along he should kill him. The boy went to the appointed place. Along came his grandfather. The boy shot him with his bow and arrows. When the other hunters came they said: "What have you done? You were told to wait here and kill any old game that came along." All the hunters were there, and the leader and others scolded the boy, but an old man spoke up and said, "It was found long ago that this boy always did as he was told. You should speak plainly to him and say exactly what you mean. Instead of 'an old man' you should say 'an old buck.'" After all the hunters were assembled they picked up the boy and took him to the camp. The boy stayed there a while and then followed them toward home. As he came near the village he began to feel as though something would happen to him when he got home, so he started to go straight toward the west.

He traveled a long time, always going toward the west. The reason of this was as follows: His strange actions had been caused by an evil medicine man named Beater Wind, who lived in the west and compelled the boy to come toward him. Beater Wind had foreseen that the boy would do something like the killing of his grandfather, so he made a new house for the boy near his own and was living in it when the boy arrived. All the time that the boy was going toward the west Beater Wind lay in the new house with his back toward the door. Some one came in the door and sat down. Beater Wind could feel it and turned over and said, "I did not build this house for you to enter first. The person for whom I built it is coming." The man who entered was Brown Buzzard. The house was full of "medicine," which was said to be something like the heat vibrations that rise from the desert in the summer.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

726 property. The Apache raids and the campaigns of the Papago against the Apache usually took place in cold weather. A war party was well organized, and it was customary to try to have a messenger reach the Papago village every morning with news from the expedition. There were no songs at the meetings before the departure of the warriors, but long speeches were made. These were not formal, memorized speeches like those made after the expedition had started, two of which are contained in this description. It was an old belief that a war party that did not carry an eagle feather would not be successful.

726 In the late afternoon the warriors divided into groups and chased
224 wild game for their evening meal. An old informant said that neither bows and arrows nor a club was allowed, and the men were required to catch the game with their hands. Another man said these were allowed but firearms forbidden. Sometimes several men chased one jack rabbit. The proper way was to catch the rabbit around the neck, but if several caught the same rabbit it was usually torn in pieces, each man keeping the part he held. A little fire was made but its light was carefully shielded lest the enemy should see it. Over this fire the meat was slightly heated, but the practice of eating meat almost raw was said to "make the men fierce." A little pinole was carried by the warriors, and San Xavier was the last place at which war parties going east could obtain this part of their equipment.

726 After the warriors had finished their scanty meal the leader ad-
X533 dressed them as they sat in a great circle. The medicine men sat at
791 a little distance toward the enemy and the singers were seated by themselves. It was the duty of the medicine men to locate the enemy, while the singers augmented their power by singing with them or "for them." Such were the only songs used by men on a war expedition. In his address the leader encouraged the warriors and, if if the campaign were particularly difficult, he appointed certain men as "killers" while others were designated to protect them. Such an organized attack was different from a haphazard fight in which everyone shot. After this had been arranged the time was given over to the divinations by the medicine men, assisted by the singers. The following is the opening song which was sung by the singers for the medicine men, the purpose being to increase their power.

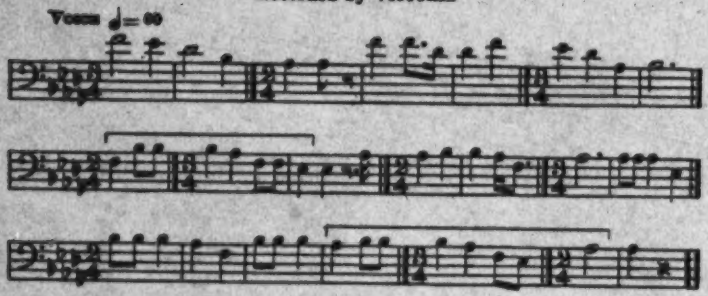
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533

No. 159. "I Sat Under Santa Rita Mountains"

(Catalogue No. 1061)

Recorded by VICTORIA



TRANSLATION

I was under Santa Rita Mountains.
I sat there and thought of things far away, in distant parts of the world.

Analysis.—A varied rhythm characterizes this song. The opening phrase contains only descending intervals and is three measures in length. The second phrase begins on the same high tone and is seven measures long. This is followed by a phrase of three measures, after which the rhythm is maintained without a pause to the end of the song. As in many dream songs, the final interval is an ascending fourth. The song has a compass of nine tones and is based on the fourth five-toned scale.

HUNTING SONGS

224 124 X533 The singing of a song and smoking of an herb to attract game is a Papago custom and was noted also in the study of Chippewa and Menominee songs. Three plant substances thus used by the Chippewa are the roots of the *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*, *Aster novæ angliæ* L., and *Aster puniceus* L., while the Papago use *pĭhol* flowers, mixed with tobacco. This is indicated in the words of a song recorded by Jose Manuel and not transcribed: "The morning is breaking. I have my bows and arrows ready. I run to a little hill. On top of it I sat down. I shot at him and wounded him. I used a little *pĭhol* flower which made it easy for me to catch the wounded deer."

X 533 843 224 The song next following was sung to insure success on the hunt and also to cure the illness of a child whose father had disobeyed certain rules before its birth. The father of an unborn child was restricted in conduct when on the war path and also when hunting. If he saw the motions of the deer when it was dying, or cut certain parts of the deer when preparing the meat, his child, when about 2 years old, would make the sounds and motions of a dying deer.

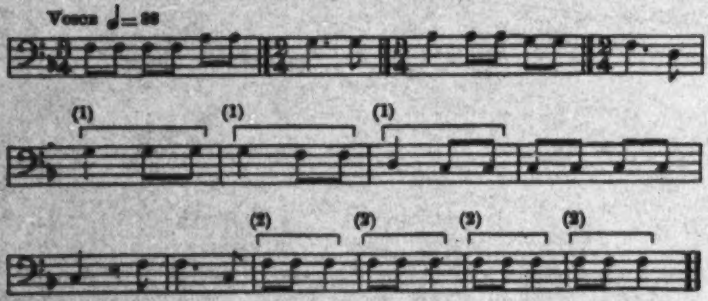
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Observing this, the people asked the father if he had done either of these things, and if he admitted his fault they sent for a man who could sing the following song. It was not considered necessary to send for a medicine man, as the cause of the trouble and its cure were known. The man mixed dried *pĭhol* flowers with tobacco and smoked the mixture as he treated the child.

No. 160. Song for Success in Hunting

(Catalogue No. 1013)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

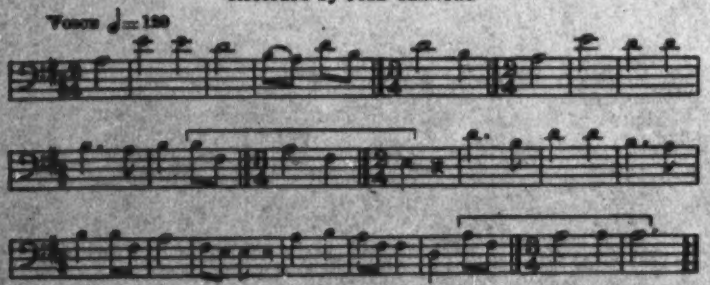
We sit here by our camp fire and start to sing our hunting song. I can clearly see the points of the deer's ears on top of the hill. We smoke the *pĭhol* flowers that make the night clear, so I can see the points of the deer's ears on the hill.

Analysis.—Two rhythmic units occur in this song, the second reversing the note values of the first. The song is based on the fourth five-toned scale and about one-third of the intervals are fourths.

No. 161. Song of an Unsuccessful Hunter

(Catalogue No. 1013)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

I am walking a great deal.
I am sorry I can not find any game.
I saw lots of tracks, especially on the east side of the mountain, but I found nothing.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

good condition; the young men were not particularly accommodating, as their interest seemed to be centred in the corral, where they were breaking in horses, separating cattle, etc. These natives had little to sell me beyond a fine basket used for harvesting sahuaro fruit. This kind of basket, which now is becoming rare, is of large size, water-tight, and is carried on the head. Its decorative designs sometimes represent the sahuaro cactus.

I visited Santiago, an old hunter, who, according to reports, used to be able to overtake deer, on the run, in half a day, and then shoot them with bow and arrow. In the hot weather these animals are not inclined to run long, as their feet become sore. Santiago is still very agile and quick in his movements and every day he goes out shooting quail, cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and pigeons. His bow, which I secured, is made from that beautiful greenish blue bush of the desert called *condalia*. It is strengthened by an ox-tail hide pulled over it. The bow string is made from the ligaments of the back of the neck of the same animal. Arrows are made from the *amole* (yucca) flower stalk, the point being of cat-claw, tied by deer sinew.

He was also willing to be photographed. He had been to Tucson and there had gone through the experience of the camera, so he had no objection but would expect some gratuity. I took three or four snapshots with my kodak, and he asked fifty cents, which I gave him, but he demanded fifty cents for each exposure, in which I could hardly humor him. The Papagoes all have a great disinclination to being photographed, and

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

136 from eight to ten inches, not less than eight, distant from the animal. I did not notice whence the fluid came, but I observed that its left eye was bloody; in other ways it seemed normal, and had evidently not been maltreated by the dog, which feared its spines. On my return to civilization I find that the singular habit of ejecting blood from the eyes, peculiar to this animal, is known to the ranchmen of the region of its habitat, both Mexican and American, and that it also has been brought to the attention of men of science. It has been suggested that the habit is practised only during the time of the shedding of the skin.

231 The night spent at the next rancheria in the Baboquivari Range was disturbed by the constant, melancholy, low howling of a dog mourning the absence of the family. He was a very old dog, a black and white cur, with an honest-looking face. Usually Indian dogs have little reason for loving their masters, who show them small 133 consideration. After having visited a new Indian settlement called San Pedro, in the Roskruge Range, where there is excellent water in a well twenty-six feet deep, we continued our trip for six miles northward along the [137] western foot-hills. There are extensive sahuaro forests in this undulating country, which were unusually picturesque in the afternoon sun. We came across one or two camps of Indians who were gathering the much-relished fruit.

● 224 At dusk we met two young men on horseback returning from a shooting expedition, who presented us with two half a deer tenderloin and some ribs. My aim was to

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

arrow-heads is also found among the Papagoes, though one would think that sufficient time had not elapsed since the days when the natives themselves made such objects. Their very name is lightning stone (*vihom*), and one man who presented me with one assured me that he found it by searching the ground after lightning had struck near his house. Sometimes, when lightning strikes a tree, the Indians will dig in the ground underneath for arrow-points. It should be noted in this connection that these Indians fear lightning, although they are not afraid of thunder. Bows and arrows are still used in Anekam in hunting rabbits, quail, doves, etc.

Our next stop was made at Kukómalik, fourteen miles further north, a new rancheria which owes its existence to a fine well left by Americans who had to abandon an attempt at cattle-raising. At only nine miles' distance from there, in the north-west, is Kohatk; this is the first Pima rancheria, and the principal one of four rancherias or villages which are found in a small extent of country hardly thirty miles long, beginning immediately south of the Casa Grande station on the Southern Pacific Railroad. It may be termed the Kohatk country, being inhabited by the Kohatk people, who are Pimas that have, to some extent, retained their originality. They have, at least, been less affected by the white man than their confrères at the Sacaton Reservation, and may possibly for a few years offer a fair field to the student. The country traversed after leaving Anekam was singularly devoid of animal life. Not even a jack-rabbit seemed able to live here.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

seventy years ago—because the old men who had charge of the ceremonial objects of the feast had died, and it was decided that the latter should be taken care of at Quitovac.

These sand people were intelligent, healthy, and able-bodied, and managed to make a good living in an absolute desert. Their existence depended upon the knowledge of the few places in the mountain ranges, not even one in each range, where rain fills the tinajas, as well as of the few places along the coast where water can be found by digging for it. Once where to look for water is known, the difficulties in making a living out there are not so great as one would expect. In hot weather they followed jack-rabbits in the loose sand until the latter were exhausted, and caught muskrats by burning the accumulations of cactus spines with which those animals keep enemies away from their burrows. They also killed mountain-sheep, which were not a difficult quarry, with their bows and arrows, especially in the large craters, and they were even able to approach mule-deer and antelope near enough to kill them by the same weapon. Lizards were eaten. At certain seasons they went to the coast for the fishing, catching as many fish as they wished.

A single agricultural site may be attributed to the sand people, called Súvuk, south-east of Tinajas de Emilia, in Pinacate. Maize, squashes, and beans were planted here by means of a stick, on a very small scale, but the majority of these people had no agriculture whatever. They found good edible plant food in the dunes, especially *ammobroma sonoræ*, the wonderful camotes

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

HUNTING AND UTILIZATION OF WILD ANIMALS AS FOOD

LARGE GAME

262 Mule or black-tailed deer, *huavi* ---------- *(Odocoileus hemionus)*
Arizona white-tailed deer, *siiki* ---------- *(Odocoileus couesi)*
Antelope, *kuvi't* ---------- *(Antilocapra americana)*
Mountain sheep, *tcicînyi* ---------- *(Ovis mexicanus)*
Peccary ---------- *(Pecari angulatus)*

224 The mule or black-tailed deer is the game animal around which Papago ceremonies center; it was abundant over the whole country before grazing became extensive, and is still to be found on Mt. Baboquivari and in the uplands just across the border.

Deer hunting was a profession engaged in by only a few. These men bore the title of Headbearer and spent their winters in laying up a supply of skins, sinew and fat, which they traded at times as far as the Gila and Altar valleys. They were also often skilled workers in hides. Deer hunters usually wore a deer head disguise, although a few depended entirely upon clever stalking.

The disguise was made by cutting off a deer head at the neck and removing the skin from the skull with a flint knife, reaching up through the neck and through the mouth, widened for the purpose. The skull was finally pulled out through the mouth which was then sewed up to proper size. Grass was stuffed into the skin to keep the shape while being sun-dried. Next the antlers were shortened from the base and fastened into the head, and the eye openings were either sewed up or fitted with pebbles. After this 224 a loop of flexible catclaw *(Acacia greggii)* was fitted around the hunter's forehead and the skin of the deer neck sewed to this, so it would dry the right size to fit the hunter's head. Thus prepared, the stuffed head was dried in the sun until the skin was hard and stiff.

17:Castetter & Underhill N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

This stuffed head was fastened on top of the hunter's head with buckskin strings. Two pieces of buckskin were worn over the body to the knees, the one in front which came above the chin being white to imitate the deer's belly, while that in the rear was blackened with soot to make it look like the deer's back; the arms and legs were smeared with white clay. In hunting the Headbearers wore the disguise and walked on all fours, rubbing against bushes and imitating the sound of female deer, and thus could get within easy shooting distance.

The deer meat was usually cut into thin strips and sun-dried on the spot. The tendons were carefully cleaned and kept, the long black tendons for bowstrings, the shorter ones for fastening foreshafts. The brains were kept for tanning and the hide folded up to be used as described elsewhere in this paper. The fat was used to mix paint and for greasing the body.

Arizona white-tailed deer, found in the mountains, was also stalked in disguise. The antelope was much more rarely hunted. Bear *(Ursus americanus)* seems never to have been hunted by the Papagos.

The mountain sheep has for a long time been found only in a few inaccessible mountain slopes and canyons. Once, however, it must have been plentiful, as the Spaniards in the early eighteenth century found on the Gila a midden heap of six thousand horns of animals, deer, and mountain sheep (18). Later Anza (4) found such piles in the western desert. Only an old Sand Papago from Sonora, however, had any recollection of mountain sheep hunting.

Turkeys were usually shot with arrows when they were roosting but seem to have been used only for their feathers, never for food. Coyotes *(Canis lestes)* were also sometimes shot. Although nothing was learned of the utilization of the peccary *(Pecari angulatus)* as food its seems reasonable to suppose that the Papagos did eat this animal since it was commonly eaten by their neighbors, the Pimas.

SMALL GAME

262 Black-tailed jackrabbit, *tcu'k tcu:wi* ---------- *(Lepus californicus)*
White-tailed jackrabbit, *s'toa tcu:wi* ---------- *(Lepus alleni)*
Cottontail rabbit, *to:pi* ---------- *(Lepus arizonas)*
Packrat, *ko:son* ---------- *(Neotama albigula)*
Round-tailed ground squirrel *ci:ri'k* ---------- *(Citellus tereticandus)*
Merriam pocket mouse, *naha'kio* ---------- *(Perognatus spinatus)*
Kangaroo rat, *tahiwua* ---------- *(Dipodops sp.)*
Gambel quail, *kakaitcu* ---------- *(Lophortyx gambelii)*
Mourning dove ---------- *(Zenaidura macroura)*

● 224 The Papagos differed from their neighbors in that their procedure with these small animals was to shoot them with [410] bow and arrow, rather than to trap or club them. For the purpose they used arrows of creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)* with a wooden tip hardened in the fire.

[261] The Papagos considered cottontail meat sweet and jackrabbit poor. However, jackrabbit was the one meat available at all seasons, though in spring the animals were so thin as to be almost useless.

Rabbit shooting was usually done by the boys. The one exception was the rabbit hunt held in recent times just before the drinking ceremony. For this there was a regular director who also functioned in games. The Papago hunt differed from the Pueblo practice in that no stick was used and women did not take part.

The hunt took place in spring. All the men and boys engaged formed a circle about two miles in diameter with a line of the best bowman at one point. These men remained stationary while the circle converged and drove the rabbits toward them. All the killing was done with bow and arrow.

Rats and squirrels were hunted systematically at their holes. The packrat, largest of the group, was a very common food, and as it builds its nest surrounded with thorny cholla joints *(Opuntia* sp.), the process was to scare it out. Ground squirrels were smaller and less desirable, while pocket mice were too small but were eaten in "the hungry time." The kangaroo rat was a last resource.

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Gambel quail was the most important food bird. It was trapped in a very rough cage of split giant cactus ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Mourning doves might also be caught in it though these were usually shot with arrows when they were roosting at dusk; they are still hunted and used as food. No bird eggs were ever used.

REPTILES AND WORMS

The desert tortoise *(Gopherus agassizii)*, known as *komaktci't*, was not hunted but people seeing one would take it home and cook it for food.

The worms used were, when young, about an inch long and yellow, but they matured in a few days and turned green. They appeared in quantities just after or during the rainy season on any green growth, especially the amaranth *(Amaranthus palmeri)*. Everyone dropped work to gather them, for they were considered a great delicacy.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

The Papago pets in the old days were dogs *(Canis familiaris)* and a few species of birds. Dogs were used to guard the houses, rarely for hunting. The breed was a small white one, in build like a coyote *(Canis lestes)* but with softer fur and only half the size. Coyotes were kept as pets if captured young.

Arrow feathers were obtained from a species of hawk *(Accipiter* sp.), and these were housed in wicker cages and fed with rats and lizards. The tail feathers were pulled whenever they grew long enough. Spanish accounts speak of a number of macaws *(Ara* sp.) being kept for their feathers at San Xavier (27), but this being before Papago occupancy there is no tradition of it.

Father Kino (3) at the beginning of the eighteenth century distributed droves of horses *(Equus caballus)*, cattle *(Bos taurus)*, sheep *(Ovis aries)*, and goats *(Capra hircus)* to all his missions and to many villages where he hoped to establish missions later.

222
178 The collecting and preparing of these plant foods was time-consuming and required a specialized knowledge of their potentialities with the result that their use is gradually disappearing. Nevertheless, some of these wild foods will continue to contribute a minor part of the diet for some time to come.

136 In contrast to the variety and relative importance of wild plant sources of food, the desert offered only a
• 224 sparse animal life for economic exploitation. Before the introduction of horses and cattle, the mule deer was much more abundant and widespread and was the chief game animal of the Papago. Of less importance were the white-tailed deer, the antelope, mountain sheep, and the peccary or javelina. Small animals were also hunted, particularly the jackrabbit, the cottontail rabbit, and the packrat. Game
[223] birds, such as the quail and dove were also important. In general, hunting of larger animals was an occupation only occasionally indulged in by a few men; other animals were hunted more systematically, but hunting was always a relatively minor activity for the Papago. The small scale of more recent use of faunal resources is indicated by the fact that, during World War II, "due to the wartime price of fur, eight whites and two Papagos . . . (were) engaged in trapping and making considerable money at it" (Program, Papago Reservations, 1944, p. 13).

the Papago soon after 1900. Unlike other Arizona tribes, 175 233
who acquired cattle in significant numbers only after formal
programs for cattle raising had been introduced by the Bureau
of Indian Affairs, the Papago created their own livestock
economy. Gwyneth Harrington provides a very interesting [114]
account of the process (Harrington, 1938). The incorporation 175
of cattle raising as a part of Papago native culture, compares 178 233
with the Navajo sheep raising economy, and accounts for a great
deal of the resistance to change on the part of both tribes:

> "In the time which elapsed between the abandonment of Father Kino's missions and the founding of the Papago Indian Reservation in 1917, the Papago had plenty of time, about two hundred years in all, to become accustomed to the use of cattle and horses, adjust themselves to the new occupational elements, and assimilate the industry into the family, social, and economic structure of the tribe at their own tempo, without interference.
>
> "The old hunting range became the cattle range of the Papago settlement. Hunting was not entirely abandoned, and still has some place in the Papago economy; but in the southern districts the economic emphasis shifted early to cattle raising. [224]
>
> "The cattle of all the family were herded together, and the enterprise was conducted under the orders of the family head. The family hunters, usually one or two men to a family, gave place to one or more of the younger men appointed by the patriarchal head of the family as cowboys. These men took care of the cattle, while, as often in the case of hunters, the others did their share of the farming, and provided for their other needs in return for the specialized work of hunting or care of cattle.
>
> "Each village chose a local stockman to direct the village round-ups and cattle sales. His work was voluntary, unpaid, and a position of some prestige, almost equal to that of the Hunt Chief, whose position was falling into disuse." [554] [463]

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$8 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

175 [790] [191] [234] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water. The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa [352]

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

Pa 262 439 291

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

Pa 46

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 497 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 797

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian hoodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors

3:.Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

241 GRAIN.—The roving Papagos, those living off the reservation, raise only grain enough, principally wheat and corn, for their own use. Squashes, melons, and sugar cane make up the list of their common crops. Cultivation with them consists in scratching the ground with their stick plows and planting the seed. They pay no attention whatever to weeds. They inclose small fields of fertile ground in the mesas with brush fences and then plant after a rain at the right season. If it rains in November, they plant wheat. Rain in December will insure a good growth of straw, but rain in February will be necessary to mature the berry. The failure of rain in any of the 3 months will prevent planting or about ruin the crop which has been started. Owing to the uncertainty of propitious rains they obtain crops, apart from irrigation, only about once in 6 years.

Their wheat is white, a short, plump berry, of remarkably good quality. In the off years they resort to the reservation, raise a little grain, and "pack" it to their villages. Corn, squashes, sugar cane, and melons are raised after the summer rains.

252 412 They grind grain on an inclined stone, called a metáte, using a smaller stone, about the size of a brick, called a mano, as the crushing power. A handful of whole grain is placed at the top of the metáte, a part of it is scattered over the surface of the stone with a dexterous flirt of the hand, and it is then powdered by two or three energetic rubs with the small stone. The whole process resembles that of washing clothes with a washboard. The flour is caught in a bowl as it falls from the metáte, is clean and free from grit, and contains all the nutriment of the grain.

272 252 [234] Parched wheat, when ground in this manner, is mixed with water, forming a palatable drink, called penole. Corn is never ground raw, but after it has been boiled, and the meal is pressed and rolled up in soft corn husks and forms their bread for journeys. It is superior in taste, in my judgment, to any kind of corn bread made by the whites. They manufacture a kind of cheese from milk, but have no process for butter making.

231 STOCK.—The Papagos have small herds of stock and droves of horses. These constitute their substance, but each possessions can not be large in view of the uncertainty of water. Nearly every family has a few fowls. Their wants are few, and these are easily satisfied. They are self-supporting, and no charge on the government for either food or clothing.

493 An occasional farm wagon was found in a village, but in Ki-ki-wah there were 4. This village is about 90 miles from Tucson and 10 from the Mexican line.

224 [439] GAME.—Various species of deer abound, and in season the markets of the whites are supplied with venison by the Indians. Mountain sheep and goats are also brought in by them, but in less numbers than deer. Black and cinnamon bears are occasionally killed. The cotton-tail rabbit abounds, and is in demand for the table. The flesh is white, and fully equal to chicken in delicacy of flavor. Dangerous wild animals are also killed by the Indians in considerable numbers. The most formidable of these is the mountain lion. This animal destroys young stock, and is therefore hunted with zeal by the Papagos. The pelts possess a trifling value. The wildcat and civet cat are very numerous. The coyote, fox, jack rabbit, and skunk make up a group of animals which are pests, though not dangerous ones. The jack rabbit is sometimes used for food.

223 BIRDS.—Among the birds useful to Indians are the quail, dove, mocking bird, and cardinal bird. These are trapped with great success by them, the quail and dove for food, the others for household pets, their sale forming quite an income. Hawks, owls, and crows abound. Wild ducks, geese, bittern, herons, and snipe are killed in their migration back and forth between Mexico and California. It will be seen that the Indians have many food resources on wing and foot, valuable for consumption or sale.

342 333 DWELLINGS.—No tents are used among the Papagos, and about two-thirds of the houses are made of adobe, the rest being constructed of mud and brush. They consist of but one room, and have dirt roofs laid on rafters of small trees. There is no uniformity as to the size of the houses. The adobe bricks are made in an open frame of four compartments from a gray mud or clay mixed with short cut straw or hay. This mold is placed upon the ground, filled with the soft adobe, packed firmly, and then the frame or mold is removed and the brick left to dry. The usual size of a brick is 4 by 9 by 18 inches.

[356] The Papagos are cleanly in their habits. They sweep the dirt floors of their houses, and in some cases the ground around them. No vermin of any kind was found in any of their houses.

291 [177] CLOTHING.—The men wear boots or shoes, pants and shirts, and straw or felt hats. A canvas jacket is worn on cool days or on a journey. The women wear shoes, stockings, and skirt, and waist blankets are quite common with both sexes, with the women serving as shawl and head covering. The women sew nicely by hand, using thimbles. They also use sewing machines, of which there were three in Ki-ki-wah.

181 [548] [595] MORALS.—The men were generally represented to me to be truthful and honest and the women to be virtuous. Prostitution is said to be unknown among them. This may be due to the fact, as some claim, that wives are taken and abandoned at will. Occasionally a man was found with 2 wives.

Their honesty was tested in various ways on our trip. The outfit of 2 wagons was left unguarded for a whole day when we made the trip from Tecolote to Fresnal and neighboring villages, and not a thing was disturbed. Twice after we left villages forgotten articles were brought to us by men on horseback. These articles would not have been missed, and might have been kept by them with perfect impunity. The Papagos are not addicted to

000